Areal perspectives on Afro-European Creole languages

Kofi Yakpo

Institut für Asien- und Afrika-Wissenschaften (HU) &
The University of Hong Kong

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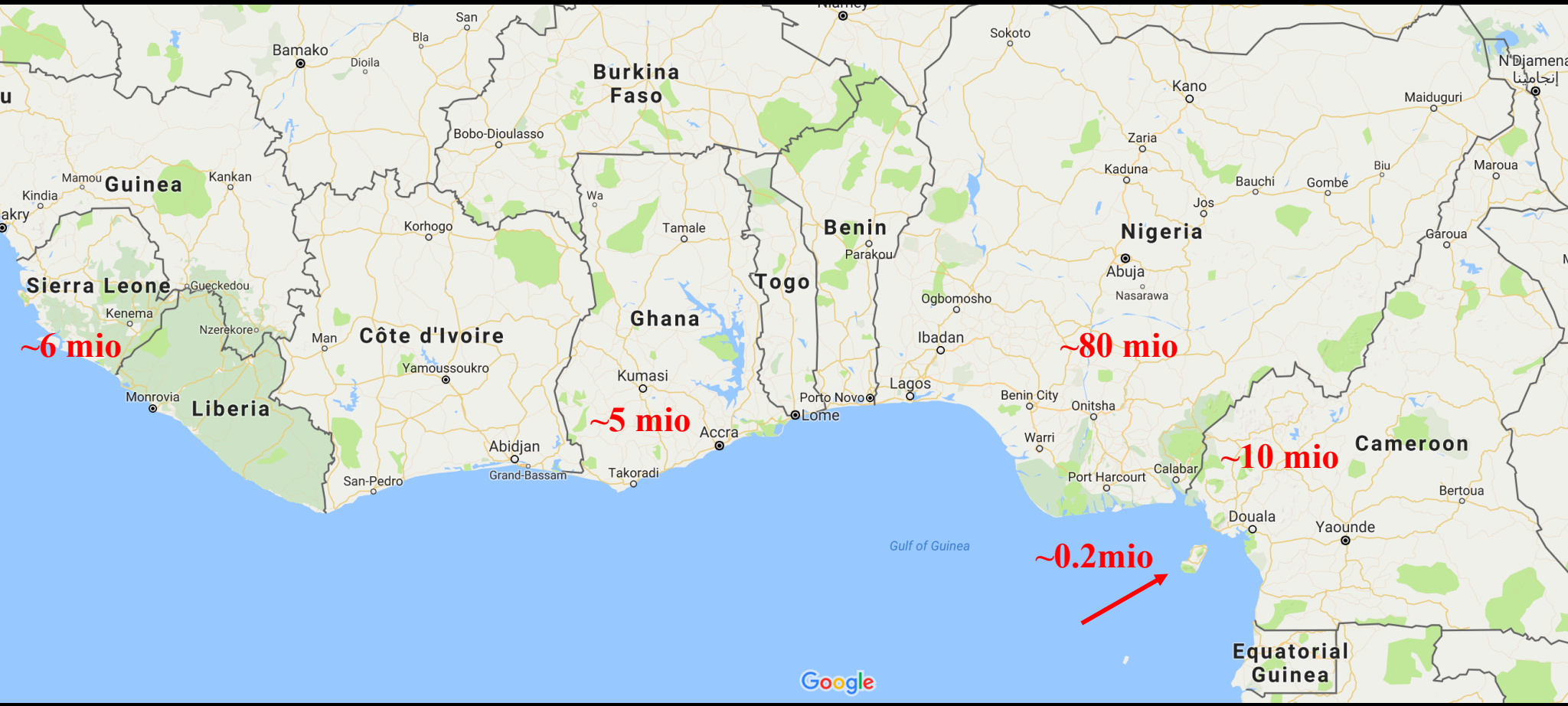
Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier Creoles (AECs)

AECs: speaker estimates

Language	Country	Estimate	Sources
Nigerian Pidgin	Nigeria	80 million	Ihemere 2006
Cameroonian Pidgin	Cameroon	10 million	Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2013
Krio	Sierra Leone	5 million	Finney 2011
Ghanaian Pidgin	Ghana	5 million	Huber 2012
Jamaican (Creole)	Jamaica	3 million	Farquharson, p.c.
Trinidadian Creole	Trinidad	1 million	Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2013
Creolese	Guyana	800’000	Devonish & Thompson 2010
Surinamese Creoles	Suriname	700’000	Carlin & Arends 2002
Pichi	Equatorial Guinea	150’000	Yakpo 2012
Total speakers		**~120 million**	


~6 mio
~5 mio
~80 mio
~10 mio
~0.2mio
Sierra Leone
Liberia
Guinea
Côte d'Ivoire
Ghana
Togo
Benin
Nigeria
Cameroon
Equatorial Guinea
Gulf of Guinea
Bamako
Burkina Faso
Abidjan
Accra
Lome
Porto Novo
Lagos
Abuja
Kano
Sokoto
Maiduguri
Yaounde
Douala
Port Harcourt
Google

The future: extrapolation of African AEC demographics

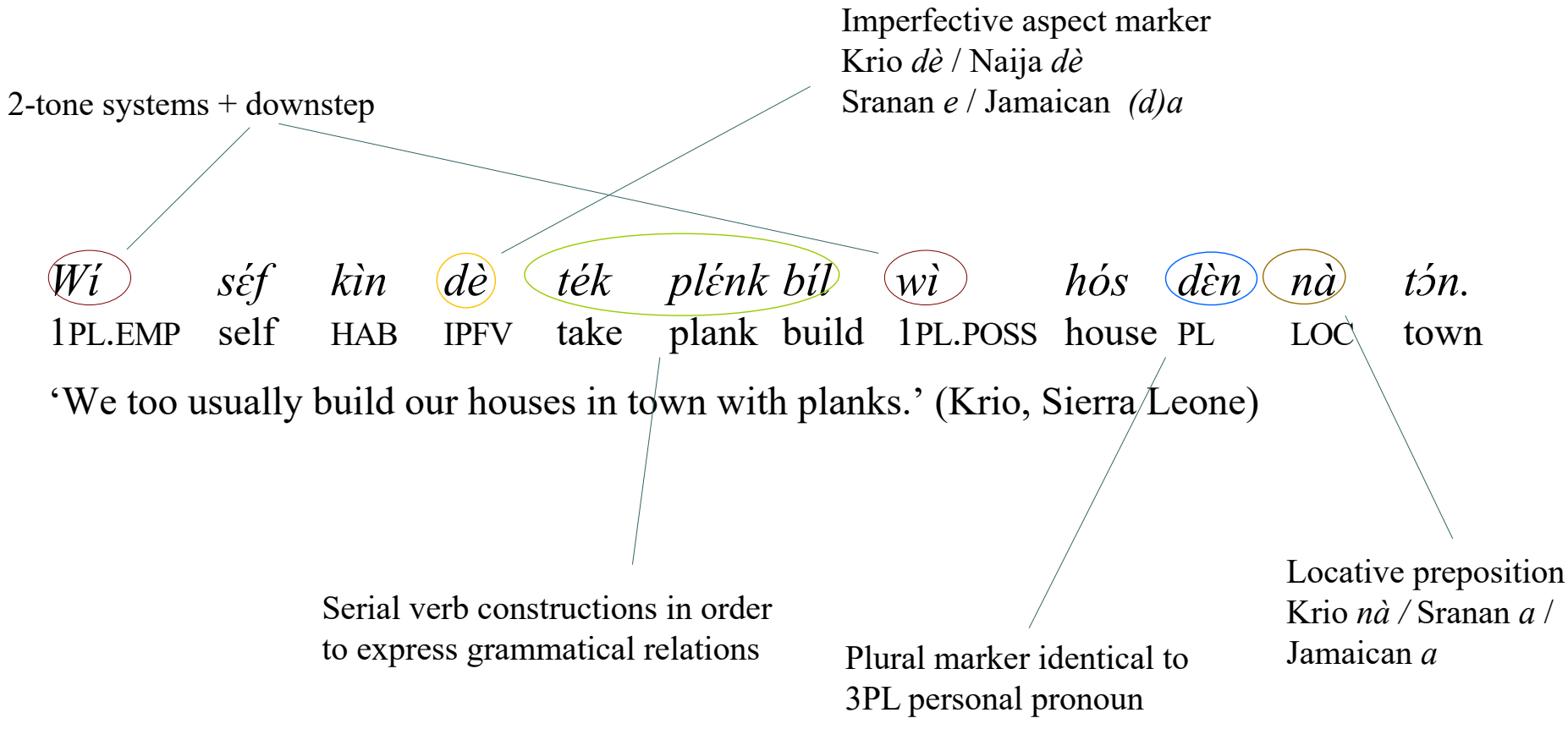
Countries	Today	2100
Sierra Leone	7.5	16.5
Ghana	29	77
Nigeria	190	794
Cameroon	24	91
Equatorial Guinea	1.3	4.8

- **500 million speakers of AECs in 2100?**

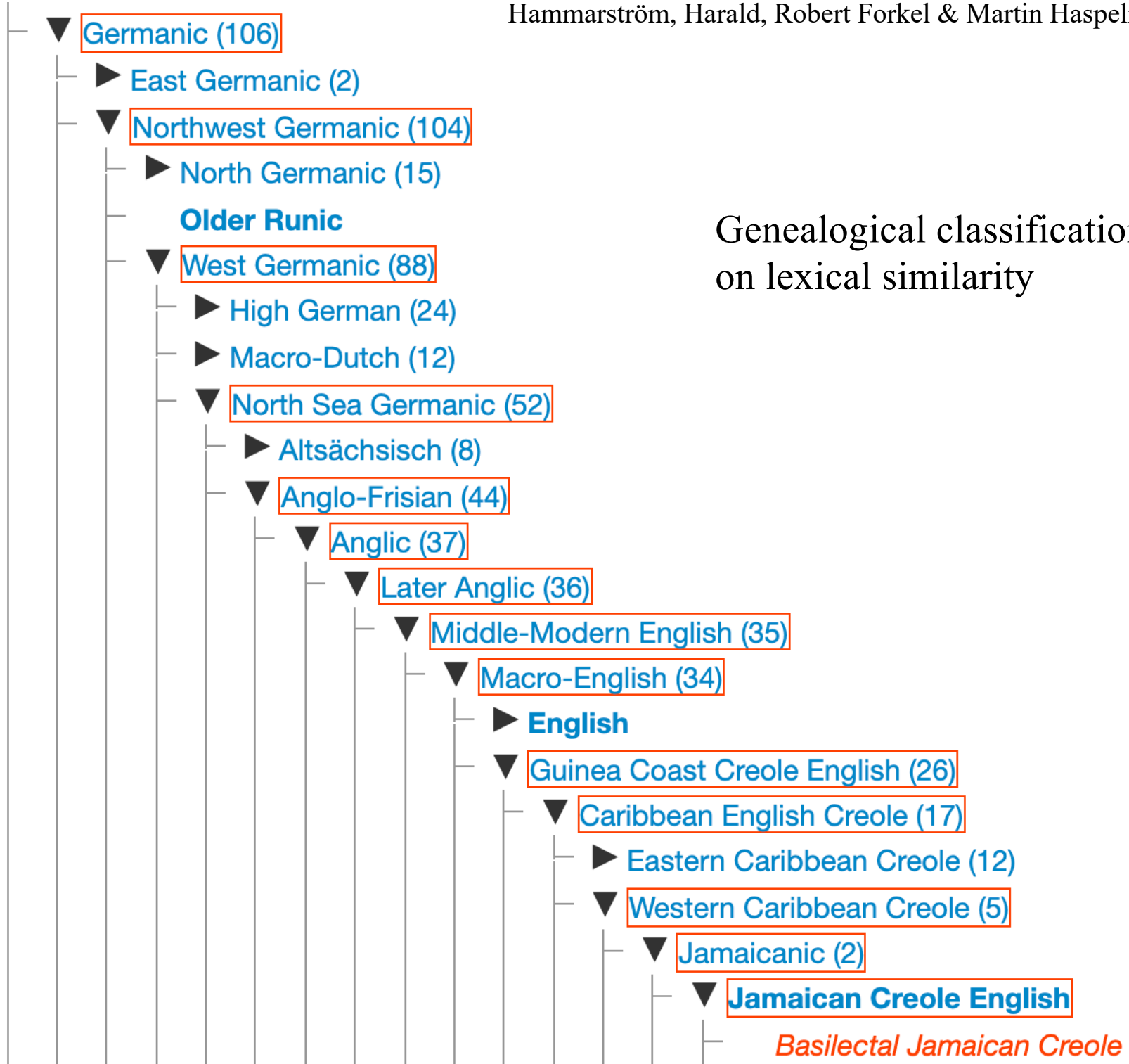
Sources: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs/Population Division World Population Prospects: The 2017 Revision, Key Findings and Advance Tables

(Yakpo 2020)

Shared structure & lexicon: a linguistic family

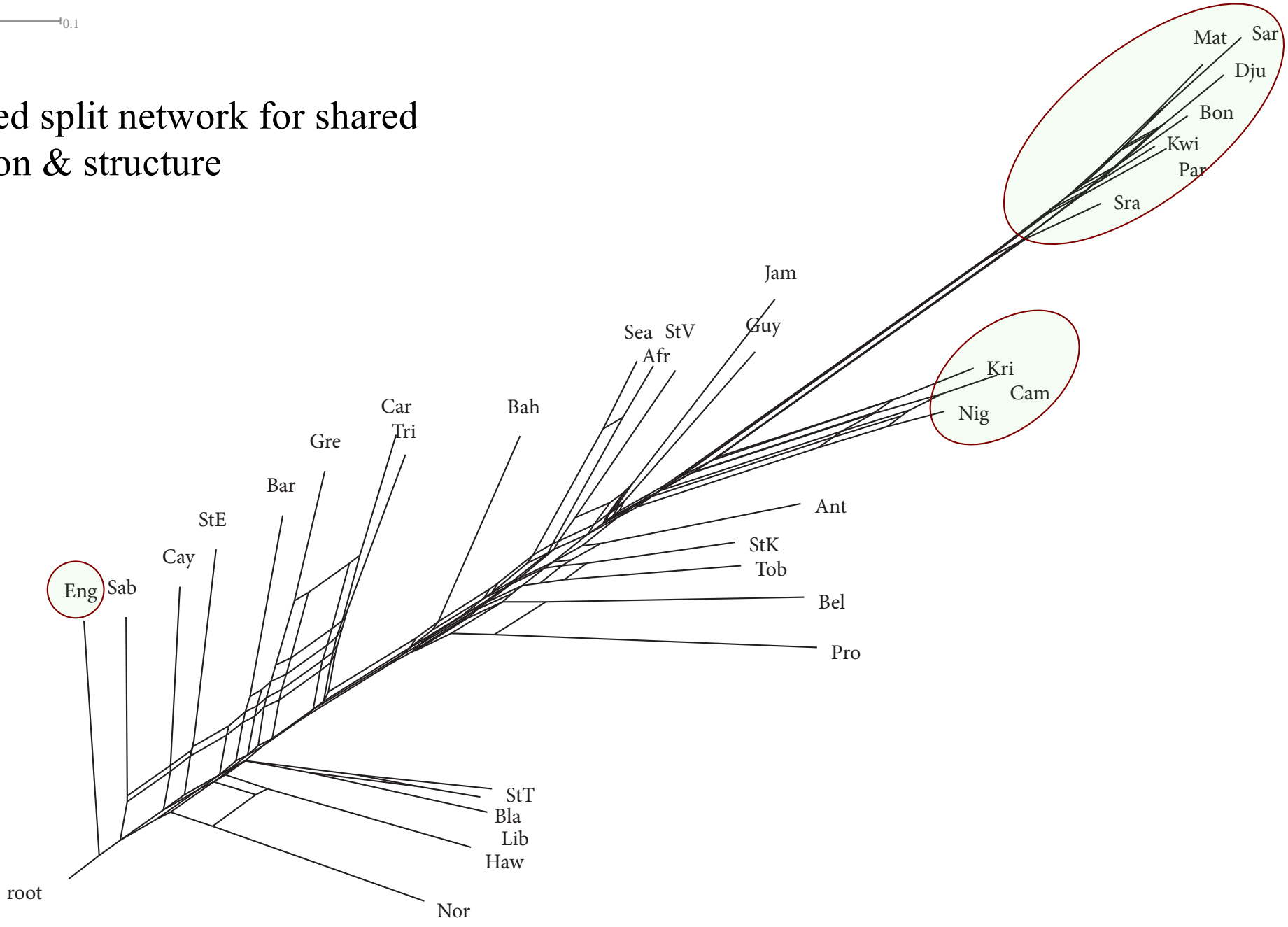


Hammarström, Harald, Robert Forkel & Martin Haspelmath 2017



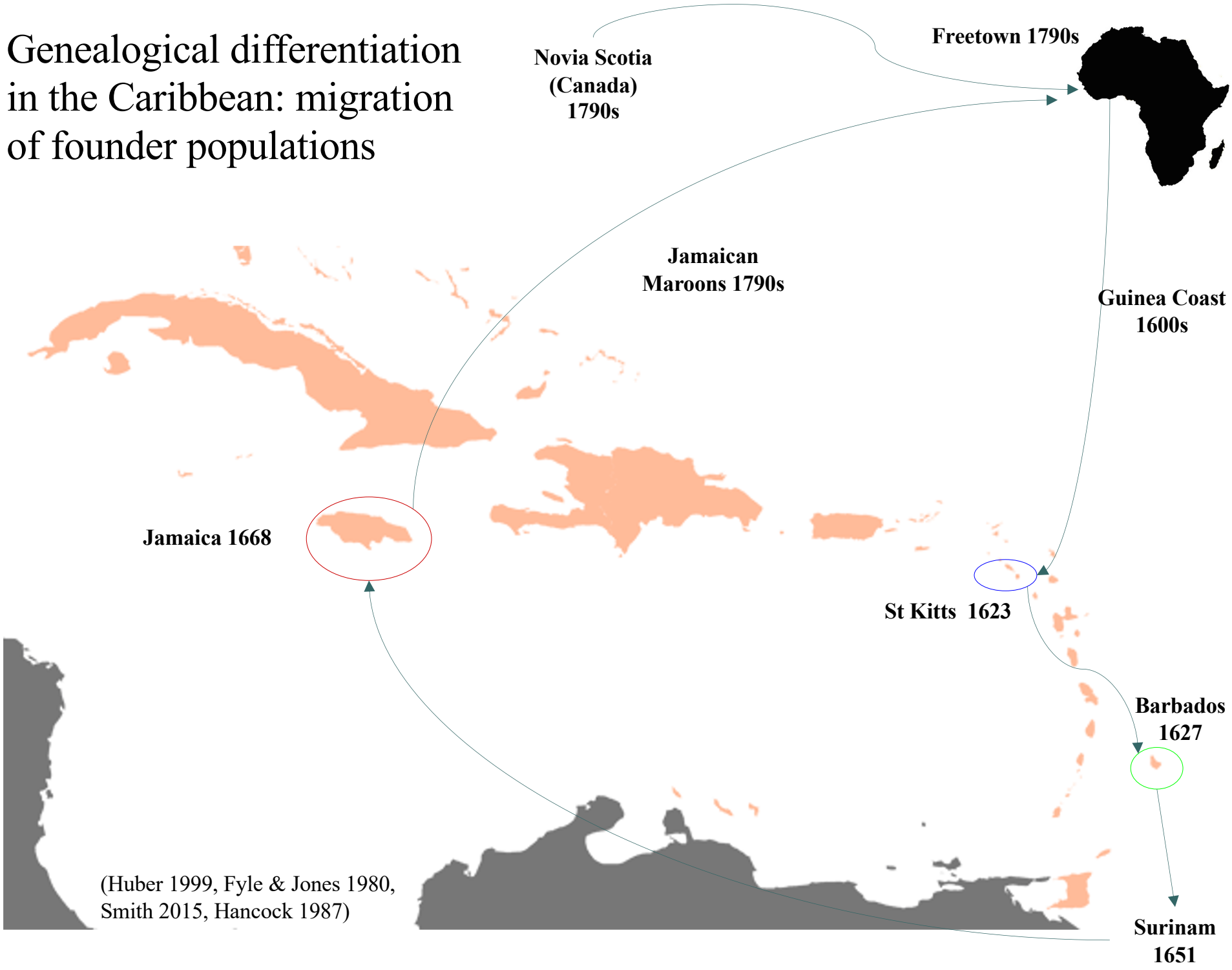
Genealogical classification based on lexical similarity

Rooted split network for shared lexicon & structure

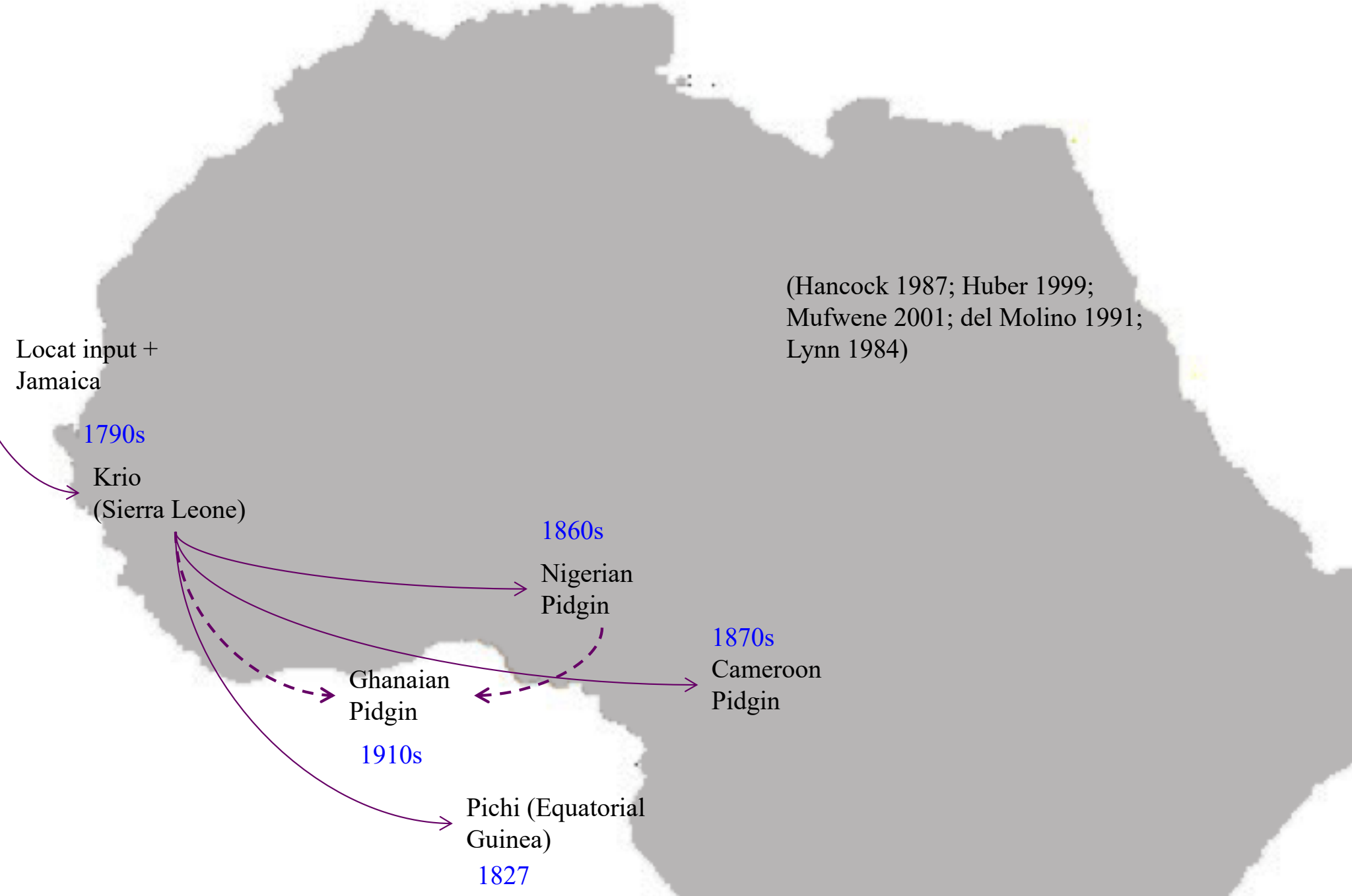


(Daval-Markussen, Aymeric & Peter Bakker 2011; based on data from Hancock 1987)

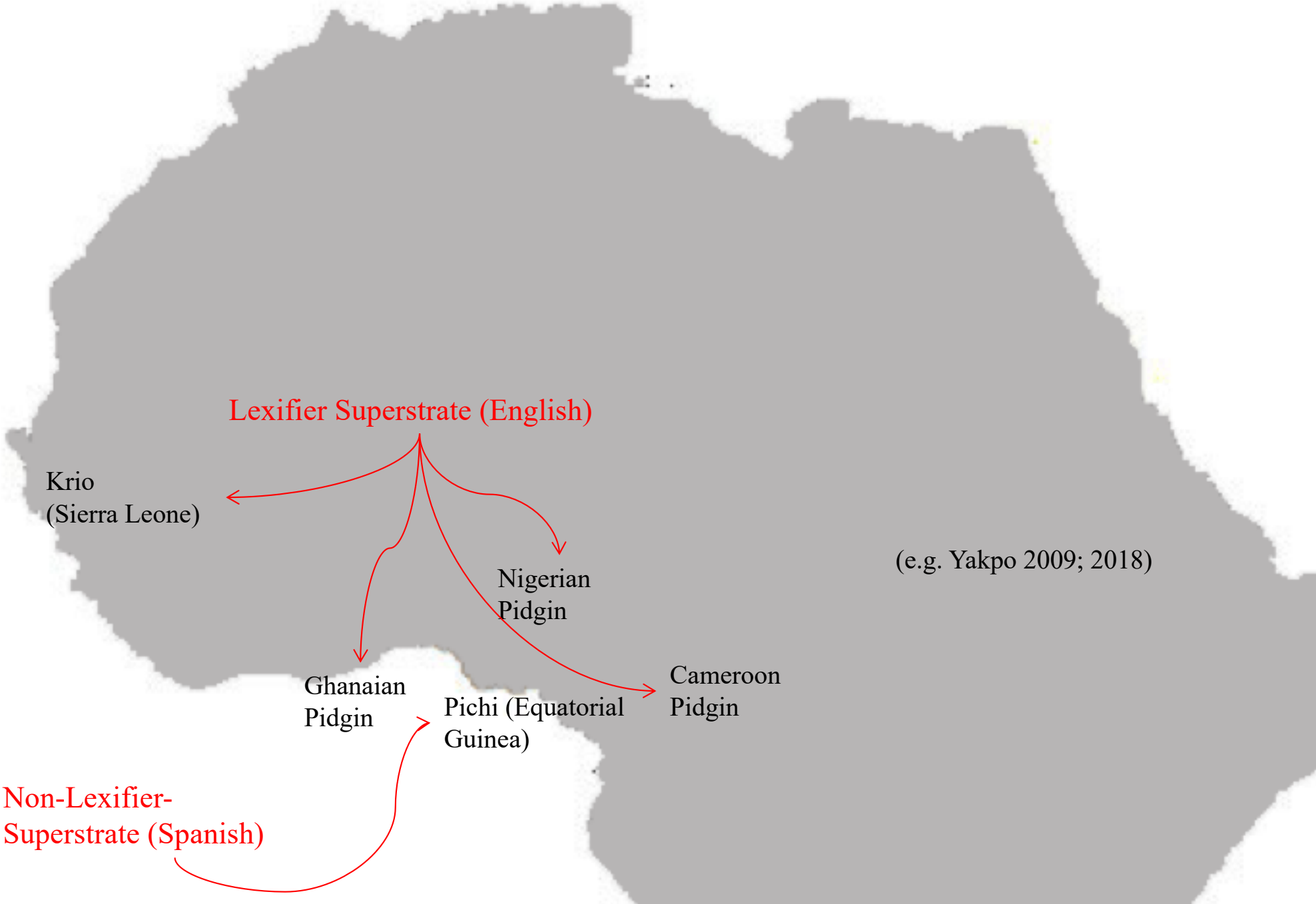
Genealogical differentiation in the Caribbean: migration of founder populations



Genealogical differentiation in Africa: migration of founder populations



Areal differentiation: superstrate transfer



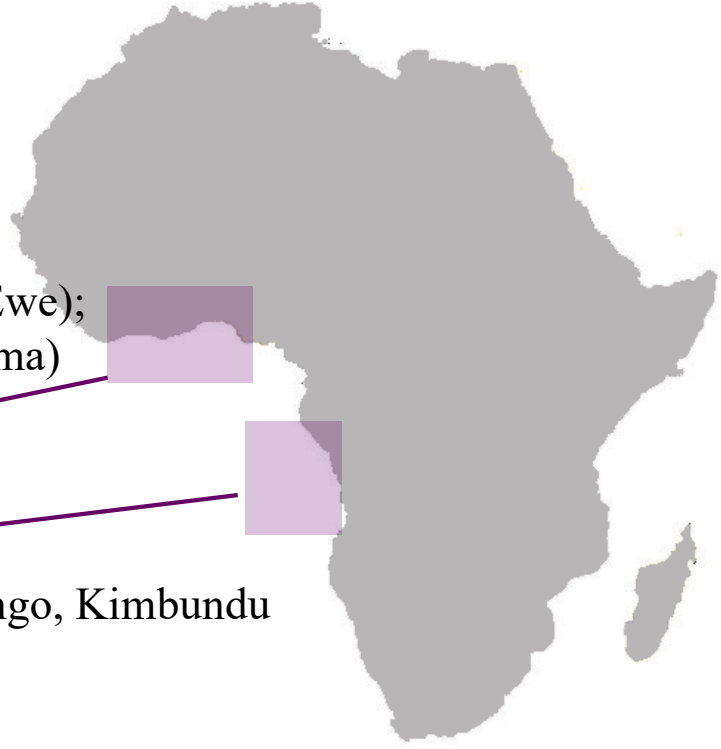
(e.g. Yakpo 2009; 2018)

Areal differentiation: substrate and adstrate transfer

Terminology: lexifier, superstate, substrates, adstrates

English

Dutch



Gbe (Fon, Gun, Gen, Ewe);
Akan (Twi, Fante, Nzima)

Kikongo, Kimbundu

Sranan Tongo

Bhojpuri, Avadhi

(Migge 2003, Winford & Migge 2007, Smith 2015, Corum 2015, Yakpo 2017b)

Variation in the position of locative nouns in AECs

AEC	Locative noun position	Example: ***'on the table'***
Sranan (Suriname)	pre / post	(1) (a) ***na tapu*** *a tafra* (b) ***na*** *a tafra* ***tapu*** LOC surface DEF table LOC DEF table surface
Ndyuka (Suriname)	post / pre	(2) (a) ***na*** *a tafaa* ***tapu*** (b) ***na tapu*** *a tafaa* LOC DEF table surface LOC surface DEF table
Nigerian Pidgin	pre	(3) ***fɔ̀ ɔ́ntɔ́p*** *dì tébùl* LOC surface DEF table
Ghanaian Pidgin	post	(4) ***fɔ̀*** *dɛ̀ tébùl* ***tɔ́p*** LOC DEF table surface

(Yakpo & Bruyn 2015, Yakpo 2017)

Stratal-areal contact model (Yakpo 2017)

Founder period	**Post-founder period**
Lexifier = Superstrate *English, Portuguese, French, Spanish*	Lexifier = Superstrate *English:* Jamaica, Trinidad, Sierra Leone Lexifier ≠ Superstrate *Spanish:* Costa Rica, Equatorial Guinea *Dutch:* Suriname
Substrates *Jamaican:* Gbe, Akan, Kikongo *Palenquero:* Kikongo *Krio:* Yoruba *Kabuverdianu:* Manding, Wolof	Substrates = Adstrates *Ghana Pidgin:* Gbe, Akan; *Naijá:* Yoruba, Ịjọ, Igbo Substrates ≠ Adstrates *Trinidad Creole:* Bhojpuri, Patwa *Pichi:* Bube, Fang

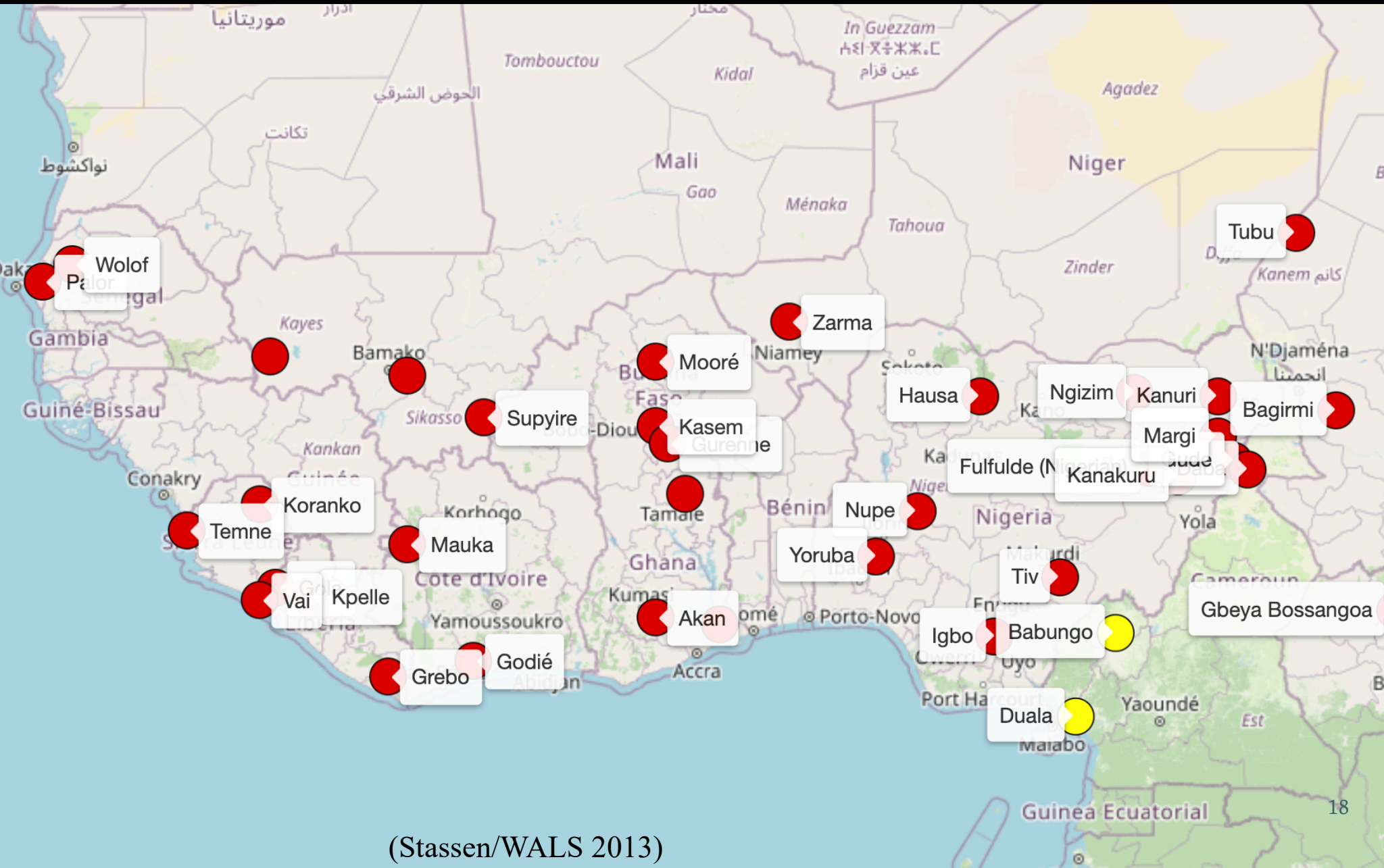
Two case studies

1. Study of copula systems in specific ecologies: Pichi vs. Cameroon Pidgin:
   - Reveals micro-areal convergence and divergence: intra-family variation and differentiation
2. Transcontinental study of subjunctive complementizers in AECs across the Atlantic basin:
   - Reveals macro-areal continua: Afrosphere vs. Eurosphere vs. Creolosphere

Case study: contact strata of Pichi and Cameroon Pidgin

AEC	**Main ancestor**	**Lexifier**	**Super-strate**	**Adstrates**	**Substrates**
Pichi	Krio	English	Spanish	Bube, Fang	Yoruba, Gbe, Mande, etc.
Cameroon Pidgin	Krio	English	English	Mokpe, Duala	Yoruba, Gbe, Mande, etc.

Nominal vs. locative predication split (time-stability split): *I'm a teacher* vs. *I'm in Duala*

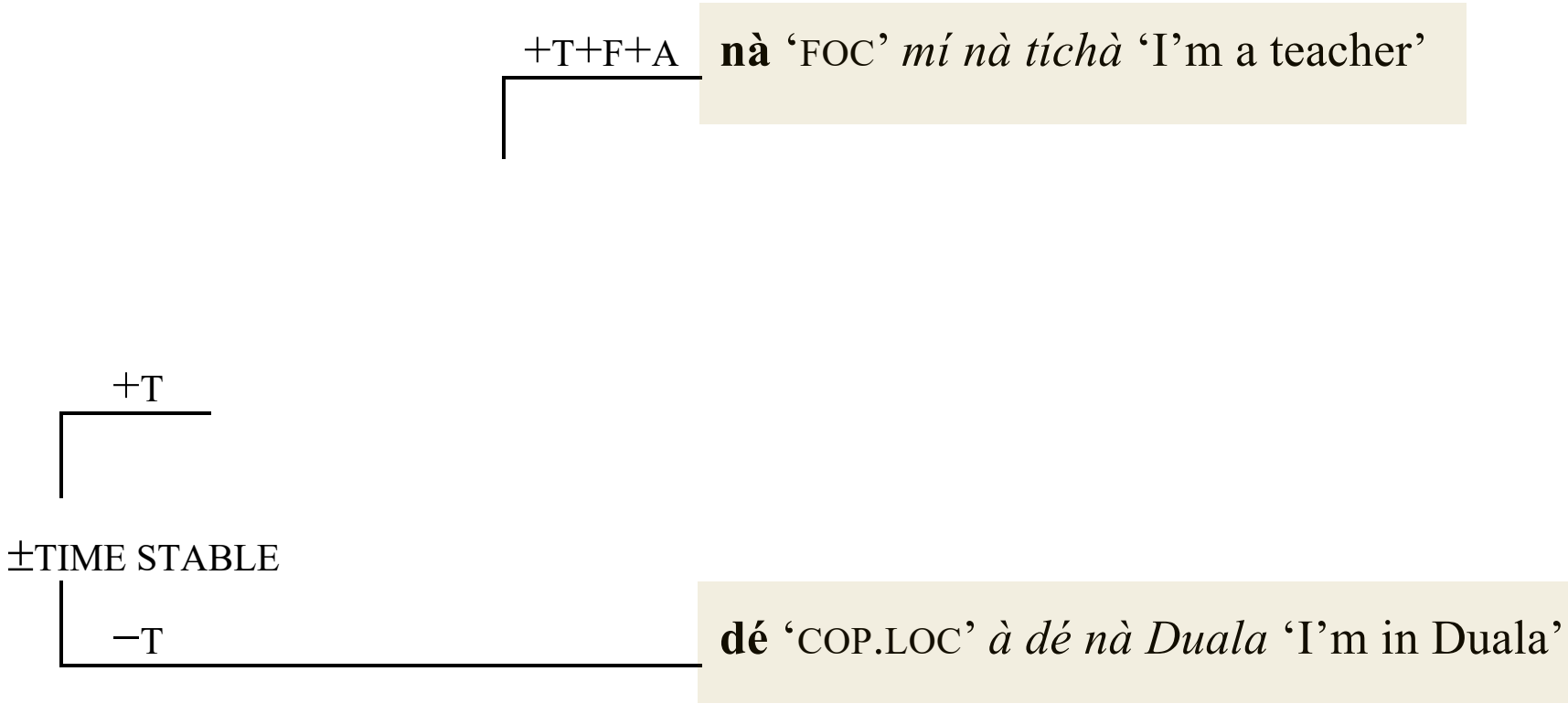


(Stassen/WALS 2013)

Case study: AEC copular systems

1. Suppletion when divergence from the default time-related characteristic of BEING, i.e. [+ TIME STABLE] = nominal-locative split (e.g. Givón 1984; Pustet 2003)

Time-stability split in Pichi



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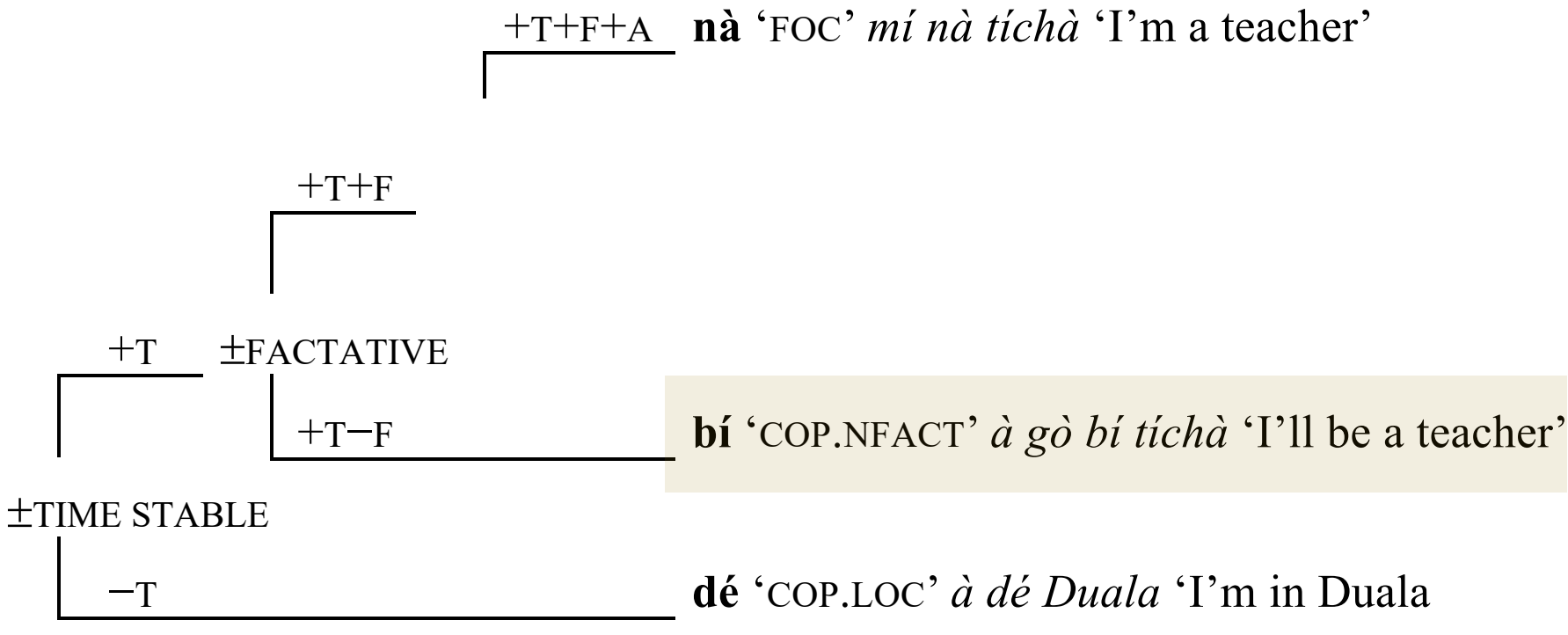
2. Suppletion when divergence from default 'here and now' of BEING [+FACTATIVE = +STATIVE, +IMPERFECTIVE, +REALIS] (Welmers 1973; Faraclas 1996)

Factative / non-factative split in Pichi



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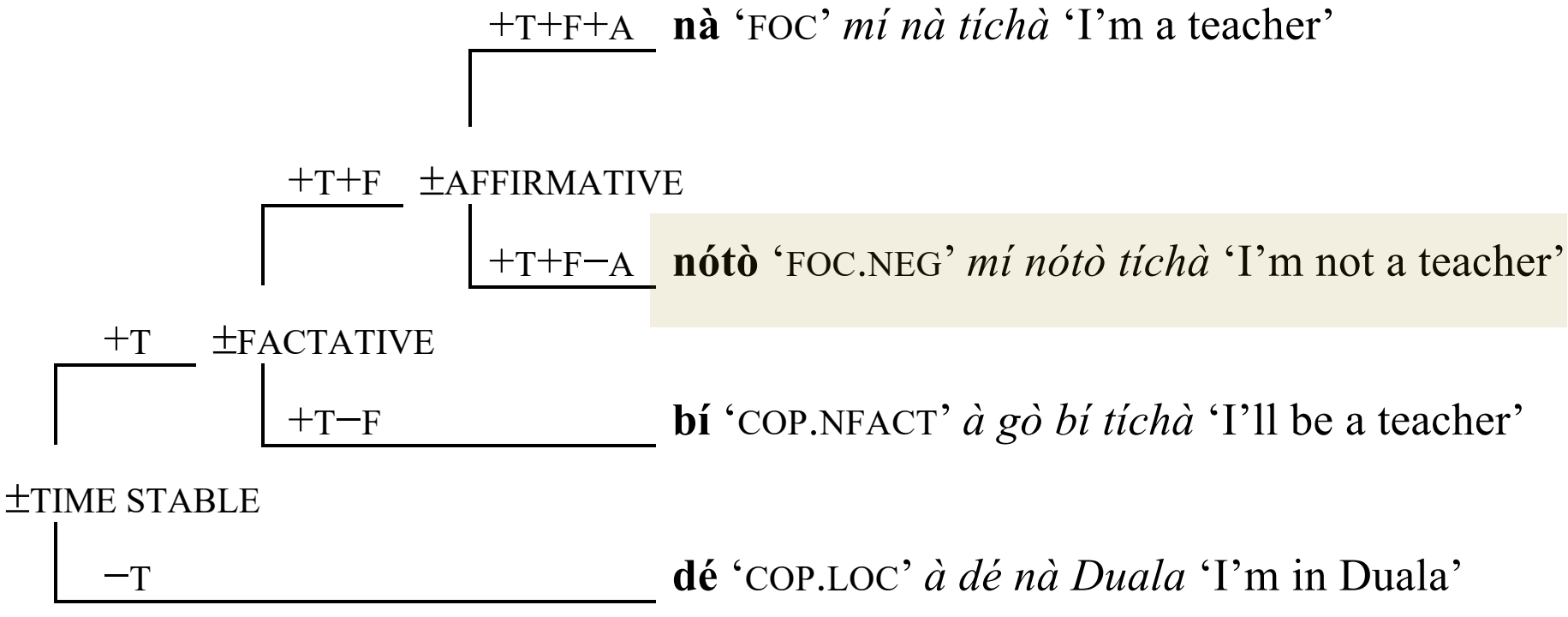
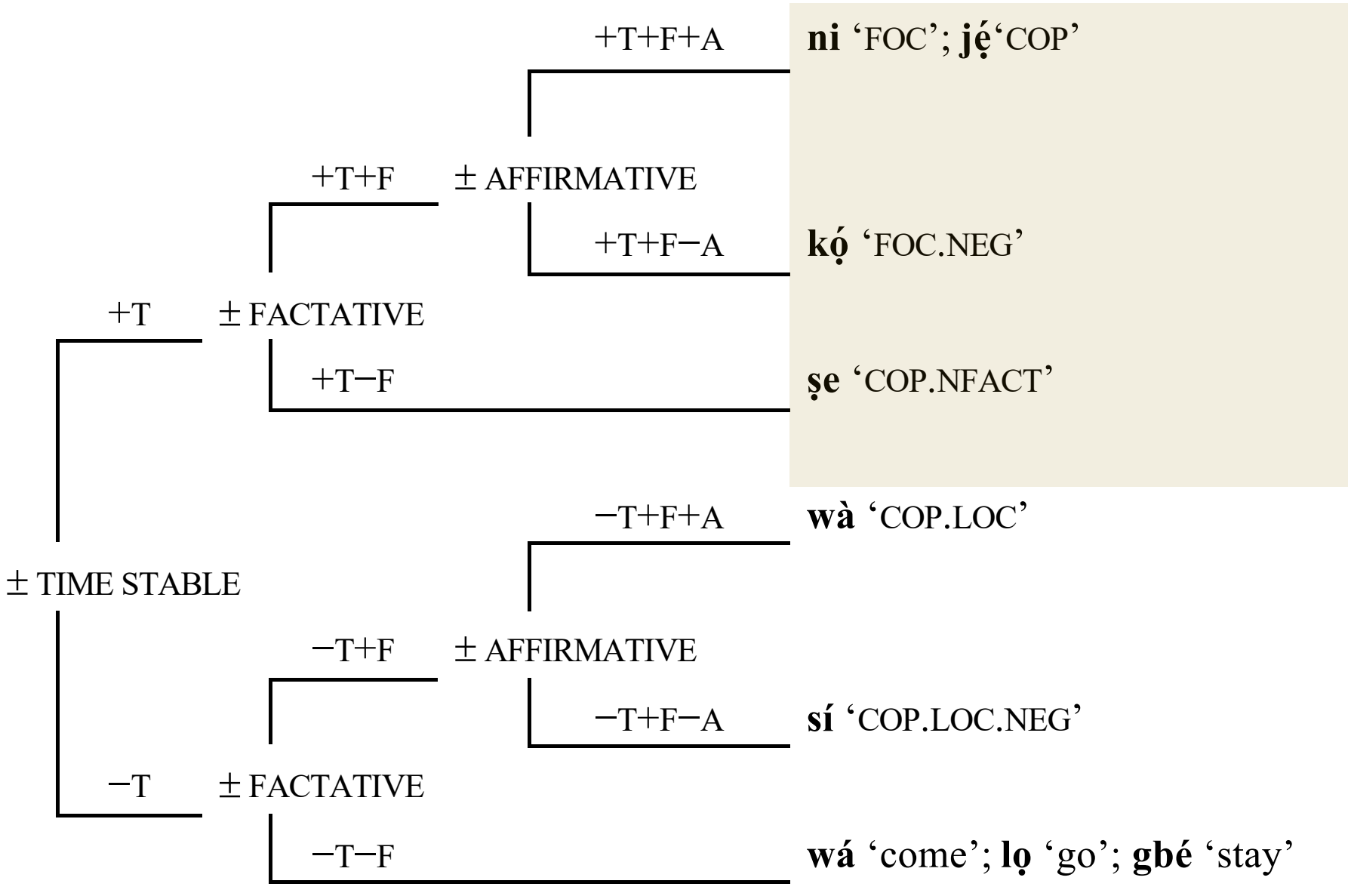
2. Suppletion when divergence from default 'here and now' of BEING [+FACTATIVE = +STATIVE, +IMPERFECTIVE, +REALIS] (Welmers 1973; Faraclas 1996)
3. Suppletion when divergence from the default presupposition-related characteristic of BEING, i.e. [+ AFFIRMATION] (e.g. Givón 2001)

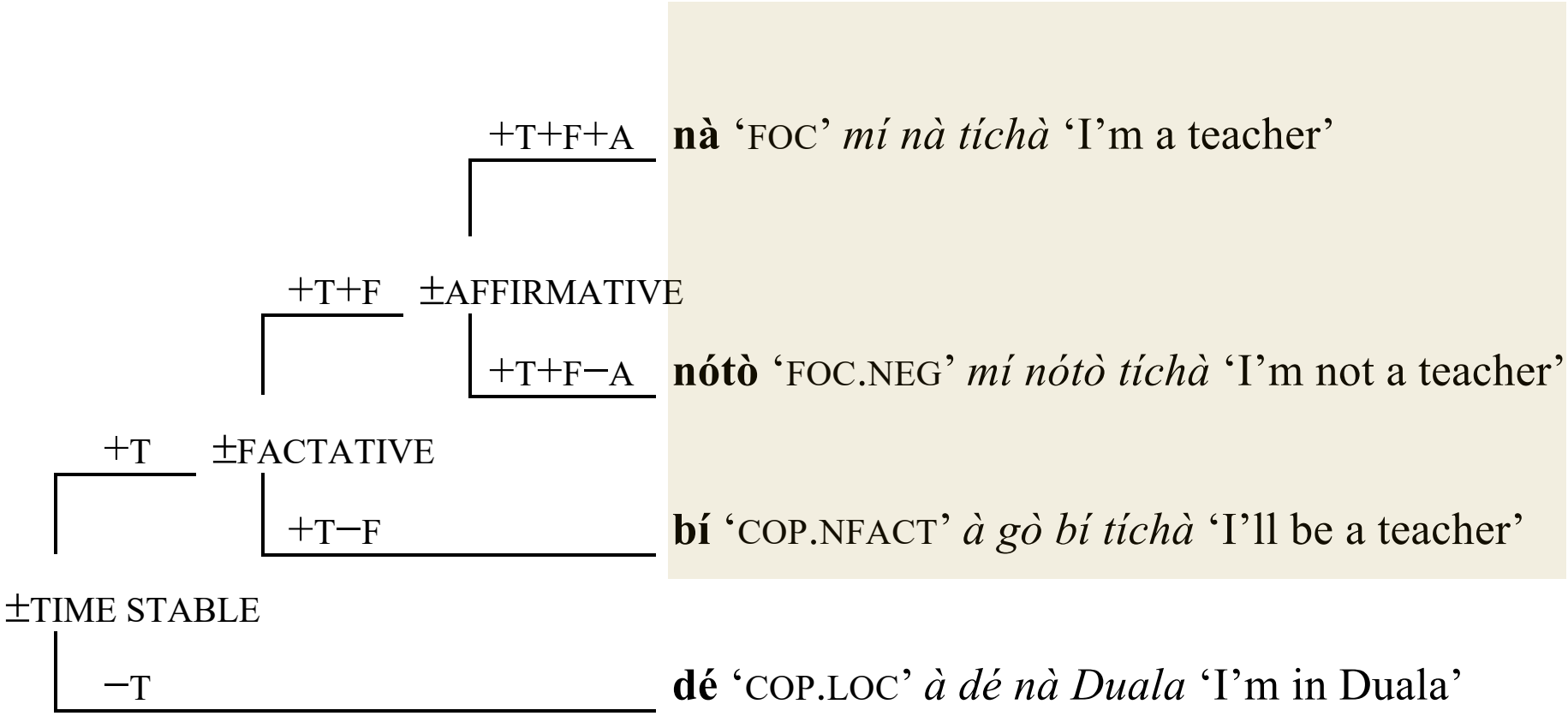
Affirmative / negative (polarity) split in Pichi



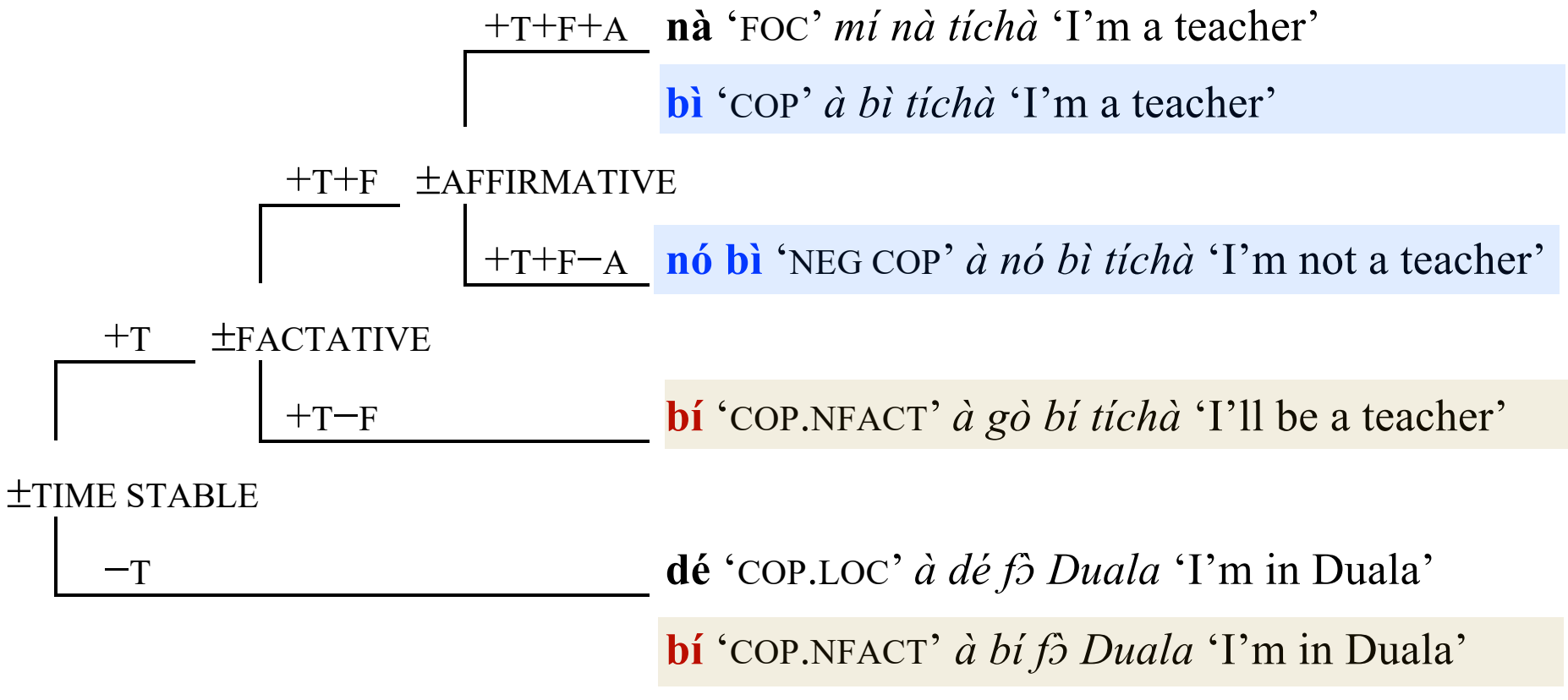
Copula suppletion in Yoruba: Pichi's main substrate (via Krio)



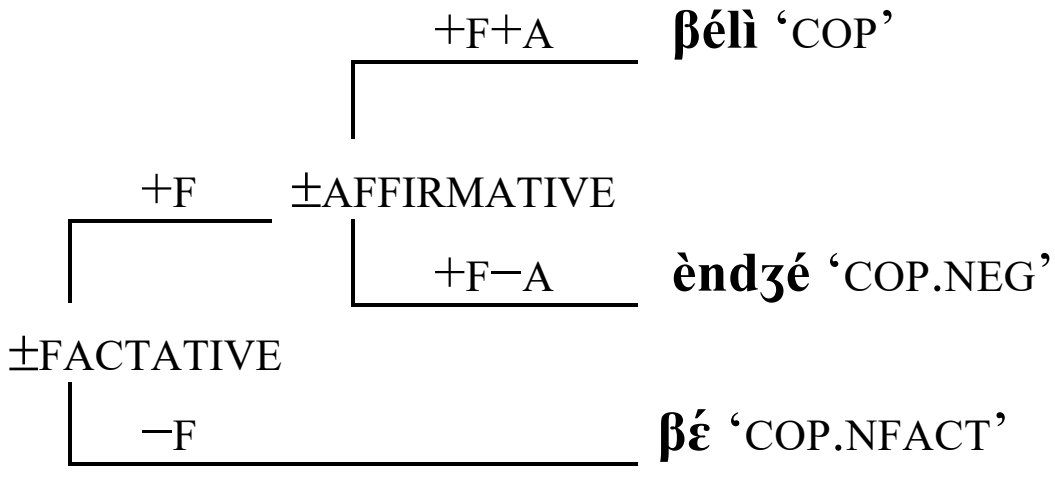
Copula suppletion in Pichi

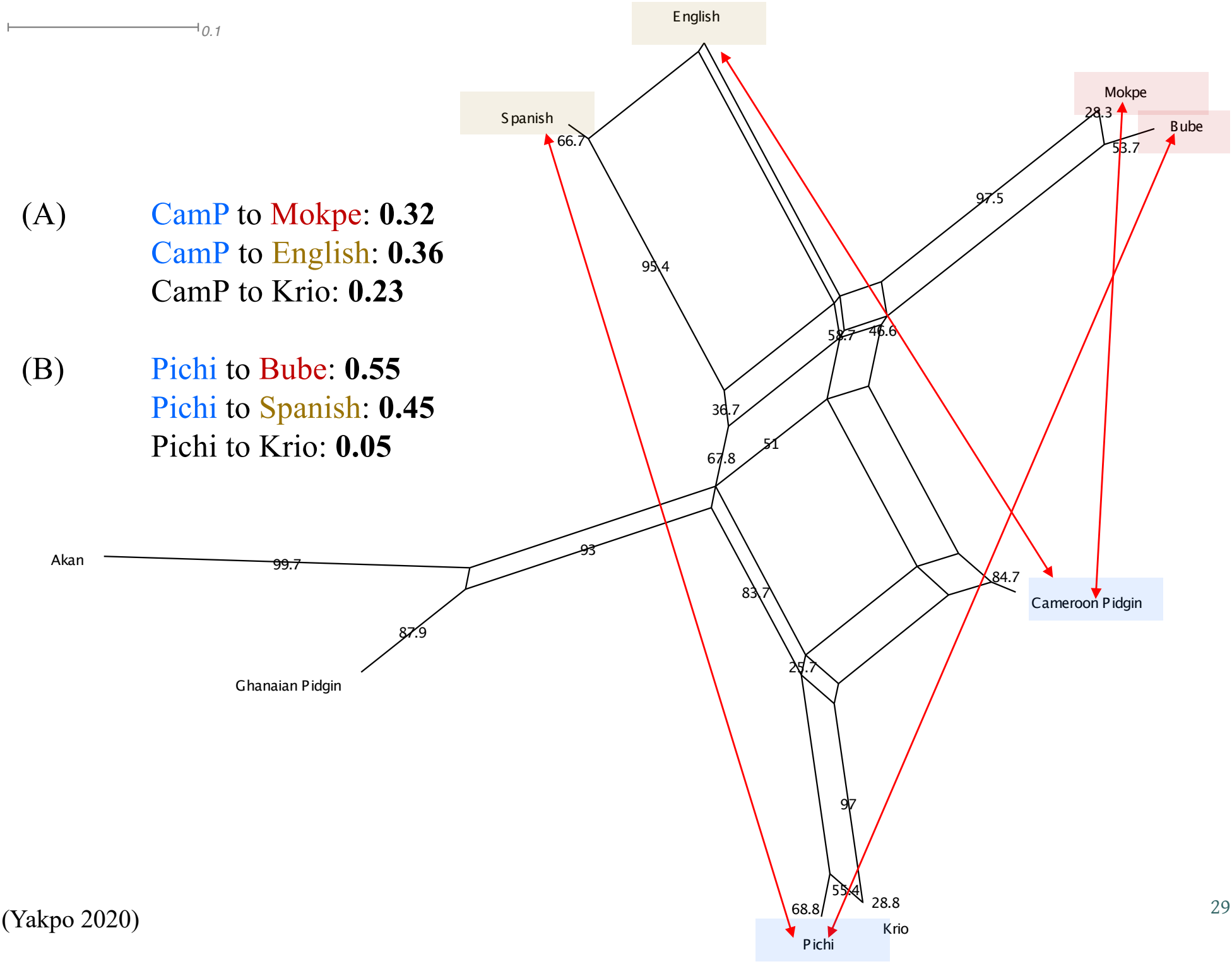


Copula suppletion in Cameroon Pidgin



Copula suppletion in Mokpe: no ±TIME STABLE split





(A) CamP to Mokpe: **0.32**
CamP to English: **0.36**
CamP to Krio: **0.23**

(B) Pichi to Bube: **0.55**
Pichi to Spanish: **0.45**
Pichi to Krio: **0.05**

(Yakpo 2020)

Social entrenchment & outcomes of areal transfer

	Factors & outcomes	**Pichi**	**CamP**
1	L1 or L2 founders	Mostly L1	Mostly L1
2	Founders have/had shared ethno-linguistic identity	Yes/Yes	No/Yes
3	Direction of expansion relative to socio-economic elites	Centrifugal	Centripetal
4	Intra-family transmission	High	Medium to Low
=	**Transfer outcomes**	**Mainly genealogical**	**Mainly areal**

(Yakpo 2020)

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Unitary systems: subjunctive complementizers in African AECs

(1) ***mék*** *yù* *wét* *smɔ́l!* IMPERATIVE/JUSSIVE
SBJV 2SG wait small
'Wait a bit!' (Cameroon Pidgin)

(2) *Ì* ***tɛ́l*** *mí* ***mék*** *à* *gó bríng* *wɔ̀tá.* INDIRECT IMPERATIVES
3SG.SBJ tell 1SG.OBJ SBJV 1SG.SBJ go bring water
'S/he told me to get some water.'

(3) *a* ***wɔ́nt*** ***mék*** *yù* *dú* *sám* *tíng* *gív* *mí.* WANT-COMPLEMENTS
1SG want SBJV 3SG.SBJ do one thing DAT 1SG.OBJ
'I want you to do something for me' (Ghanaian Pidgin)

(4) *à* ***mék*** ***mék*** *è* *drɔ́ngò.* CAUSATIVE VERB
1SG.SBJ make SBJV 3SG.SBJ be.drunk
'I got him/her drunk.' (Pichi; Equatorial Guinea)

(5) *Ì* ***gúd*** ***mék*** *wì* *dè* *fólò-àm.* EVALUATIVE VERBS
3SG.SBJ be.good SBJV 1PL.SBJ IPFV follow-3SG.OBJ
'It's good for us to go with him/her.' (Naija; Nigeria)

(6) *Dɛ̀n* *tay-àm* ***mék*** *ì* *nó* *kɔ̀mɔ́t.* PURPOSE CLAUSE
3PL tie-3SG.OBJ SBJV 3SG.SBJ NEG go.out
'They've tied it [the dog] so that it doesn't go out.' (Krio; Sierra Leone)

Fragmented systems: no unitary pattern in Caribbean AECs

(1) *mi* ***wani*** ***meki*** *a* *du* *wan* *sani* *gi* *mi.* — SUBJUNCTIVE COMPLEMENTIZER
1SG want SBJV 3SG.SBJ do one thing PREP 1SG
'I want him/her to do something for me' (Sranan; Suriname)

(2) *mi* ***wani*** ***dati*** *a* ***musu*** *kari* *en* *gi* *mi.* — GENERAL COMP + MODAL AUXILIARY
1SG want COMP 3SG.SBJ must carry 3SG.OBJ PREP 1SG
'I want him/her to carry it for me.' (Sranan; Suriname)

(3) *mi* *no* ***wahn*** *dem* ***fi*** *shout aafa* *mi.* — NON-FINITE COMP + ARGUMENT SHARING
1SG NEG want 3PL COMP shout after 1SG
'I don't want them to shout at me.' (Jamaican)

(4) *a* *doon* ***wont*** *yu* *kam, yu* *noo.* — ZERO COMP + ARGUMENT SHARING
1SG.SBJ NEG want 2SG come 2SG know
'I don't want you to come, you know.' (Trini Talk; Trinidad)
'I told him/her to come out.'

Subjunctive (SBJV) complementizers: an areal isogloss

SBJV complementizers are a quirky isogloss due to a combination of features:

→ Instantiated in a complementizer, not (only) a verbal marker

→ (Often) isomorphic with the causative verb

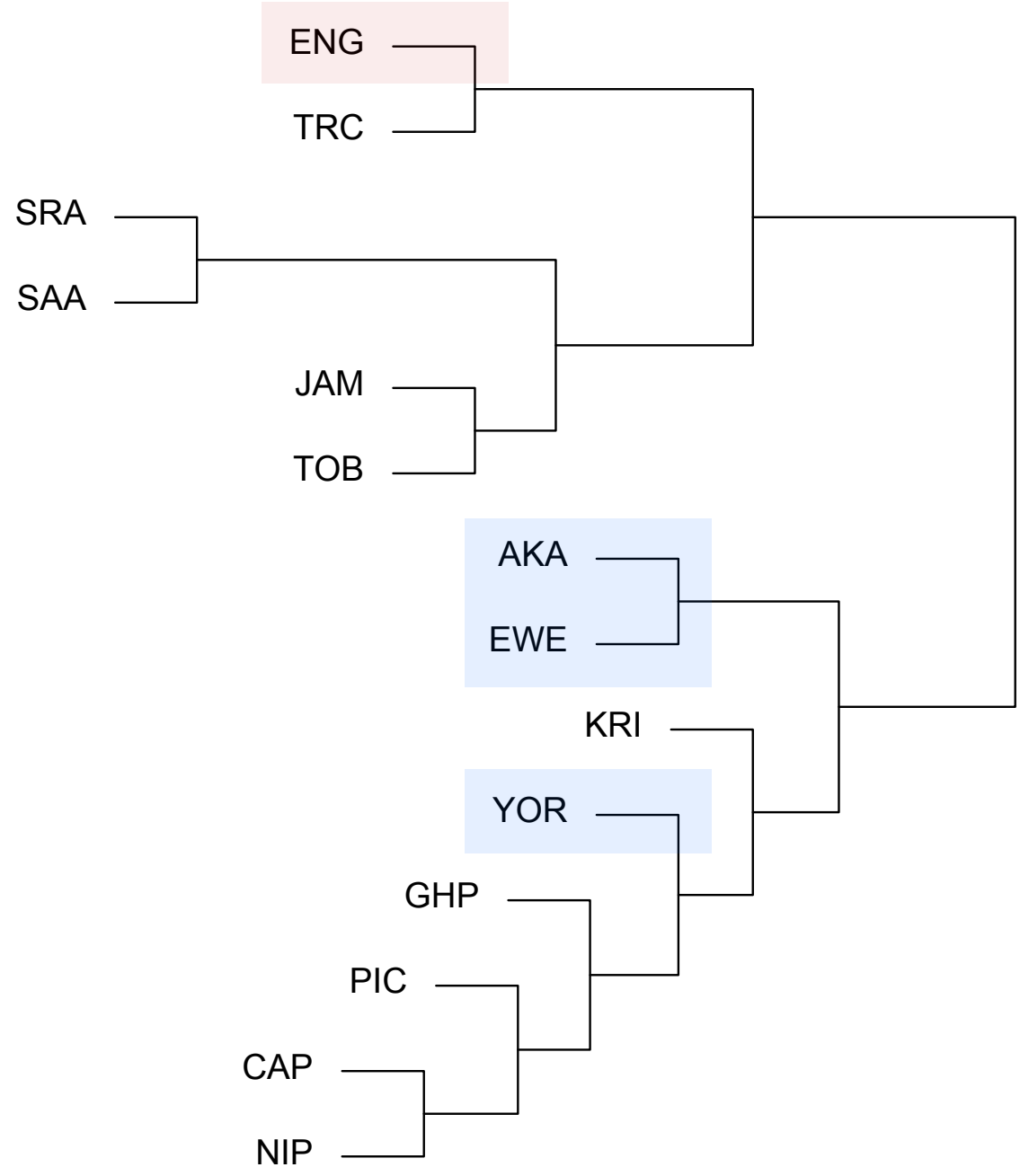
→ May co-occur with a general/quotative complementizer

→ Restricted to deontic nuances (not epistemic, nor evidential)

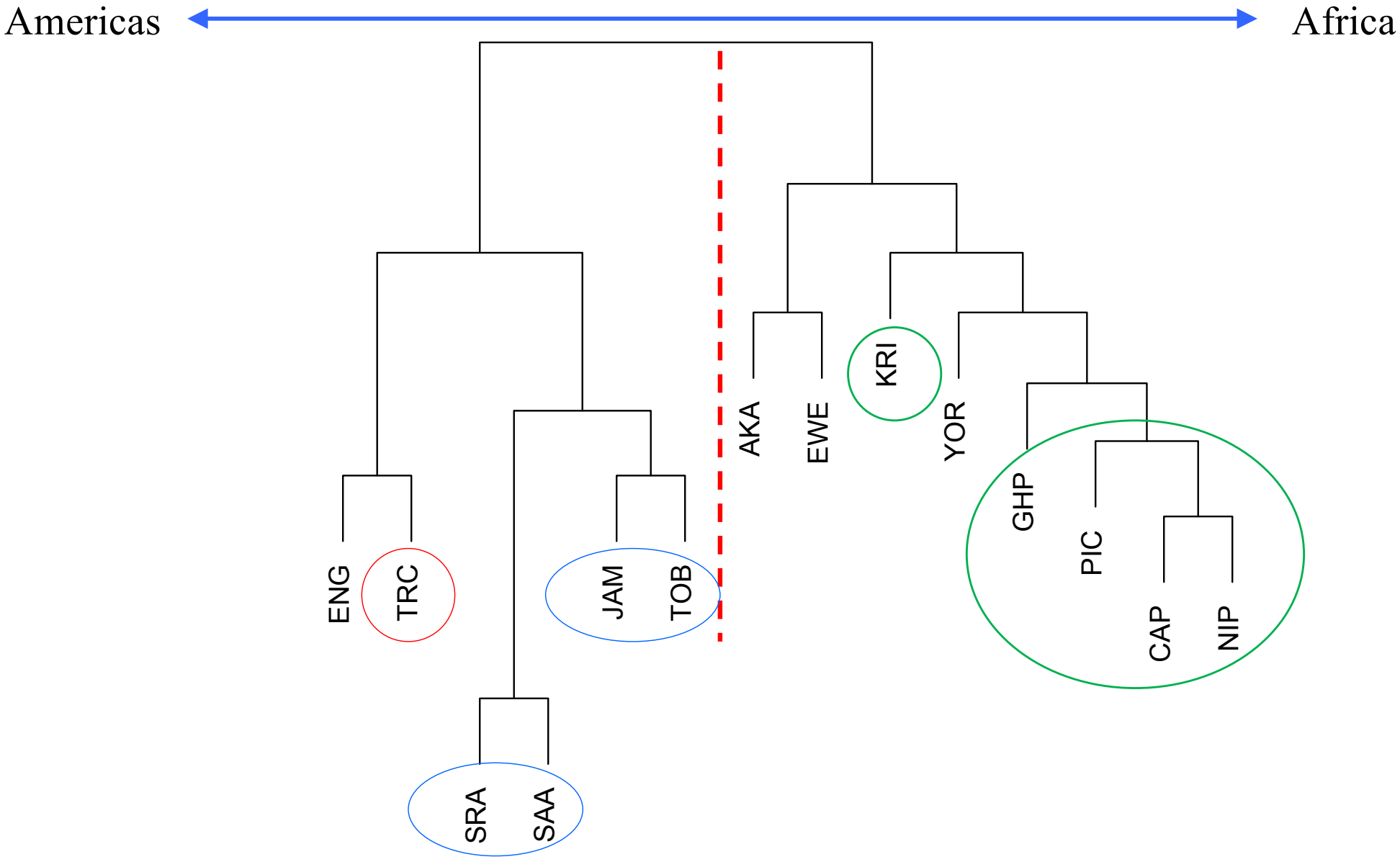
→ Found in a large range of random linguistic groupings and individual languages across the Macro-Sudan (and beyond?)

Grouping	Language	SBJV COMP	QUOT COMP	(Analytic) CAUSE verb	Predicate SBJV
Afro-Asiatic, Chadic	Hausa	—	*cêwā*	sâ ‘put’	**Pron.** + **L tone**
Niger-Congo, Gur, Senufo	Supyire	—	*nà*	*pyì* ‘make’	***sí-***, **Ø**
Niger-Congo, Gur, Oti-Volta	Likpakpaln	—, ***chá***	*ké*	***chá*** ‘cause’	Tone?
Niger-Congo, Kwa, Nyo	Akan	***má***	*sɛ́*	***má*** ‘give’	*n-*
Niger-Congo, Kwa, Gbe	Ewe	***ná***, *né*	*bé*	***ná*** ‘give’	*á-*
Niger-Congo, Kwa, Ga-Dangme	Gã	*nɨ́*, ***hɨ́***	*ákɛ́*	***hɨ́*** ‘give’	*á-*, H tone
Niger-Congo, West Benue-Congo	Yoruba	***kí***	*pé*	*mú* ‘cause’	Ø
Niger Congo, East Benue Congo	Igbo	***kà***	*nà*	*mè-* ‘make’	Ø
Niger-Congo, Bantoid	Bafut	***tá***	*mə́*	*ɣɨrɨ́* ‘make’	Ø
Niger-Congo, Atlantic, Mel	Temne	***kama***	*kapa*	*yɔ* ‘make’	Ø
Mande, Western, Central	Susu	***khá***	*á*	*nínyá* ‘make’	*khá-*
Nilo-Saharan, Surmic	Ngaalam	***té***	*né*	*gɔ̀n-* ‘make’	*-ɔ* + polar tone

Dendrogram: SBJV complementizers in AECs



East – West axis



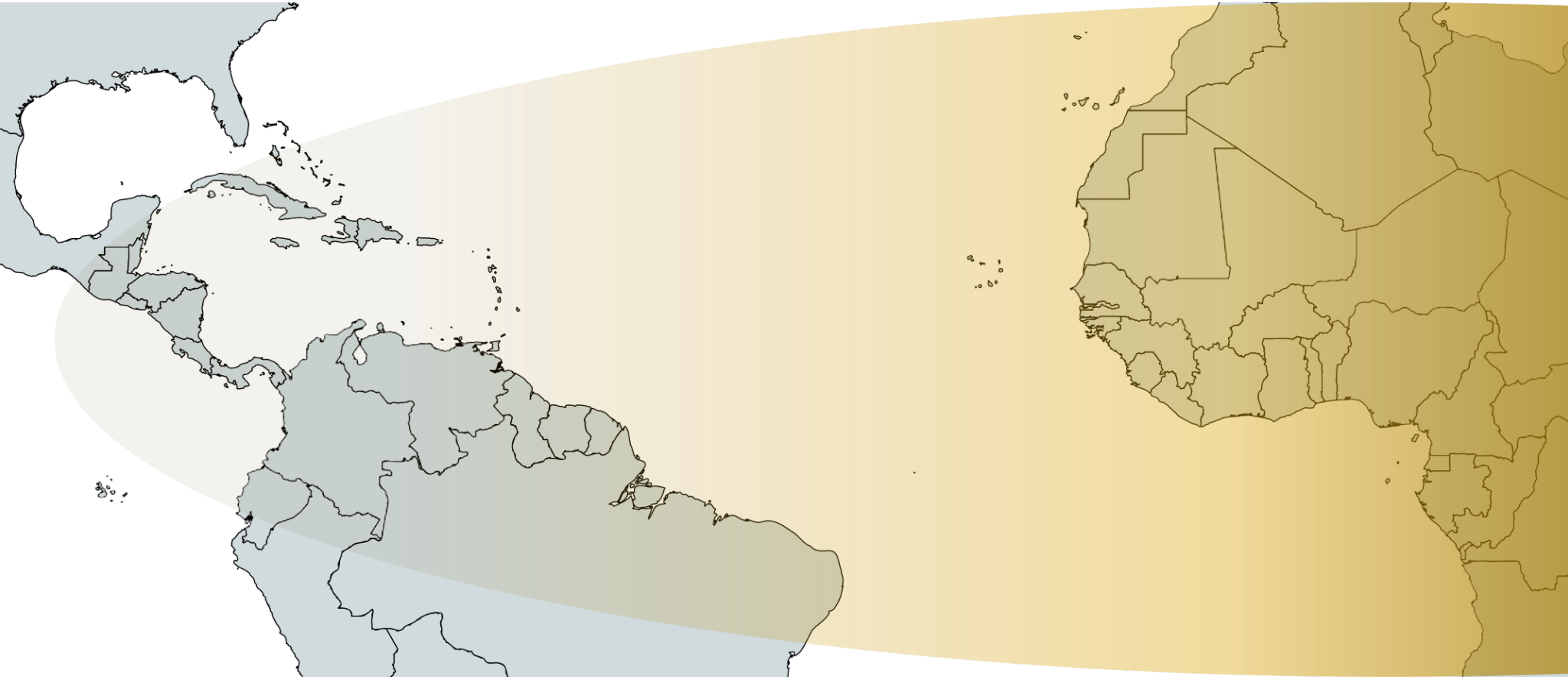
Linguistic differentiation of the AECs

1. **Pull factors**: Differentiation is constrained by genealogical transfer and the "founder principle" (Mufwene 1996, 2001)

2. **Push factors**: Areal transfer is driven by the stratal contact constellation in the specific ecology and factors like "social entrenchment" (Yakpo 2017, 2020)

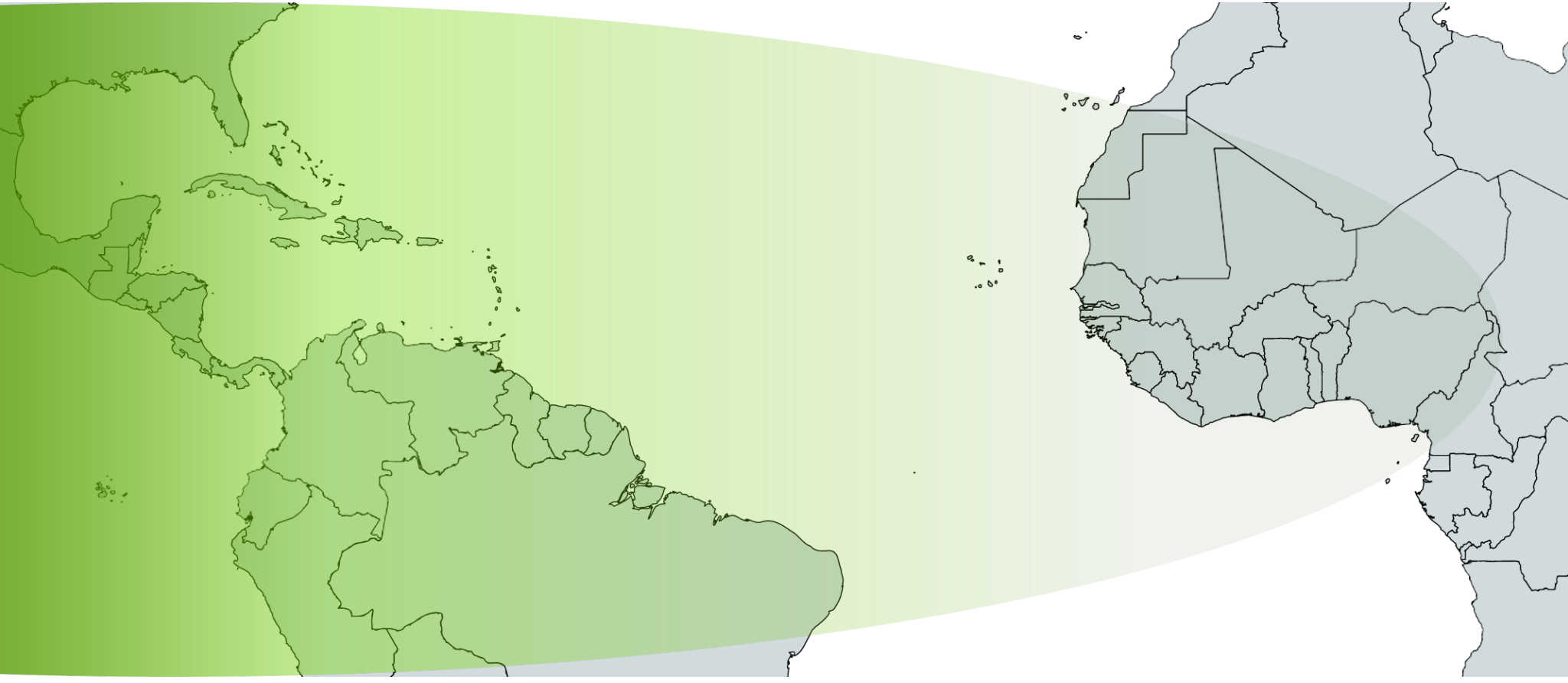
3. **Areal alignment**: Overall result of differentiation processes is a combination of pull and push factors, resulting in a gradient typological profile of AECs across the Atlantic basin

Afrosphere



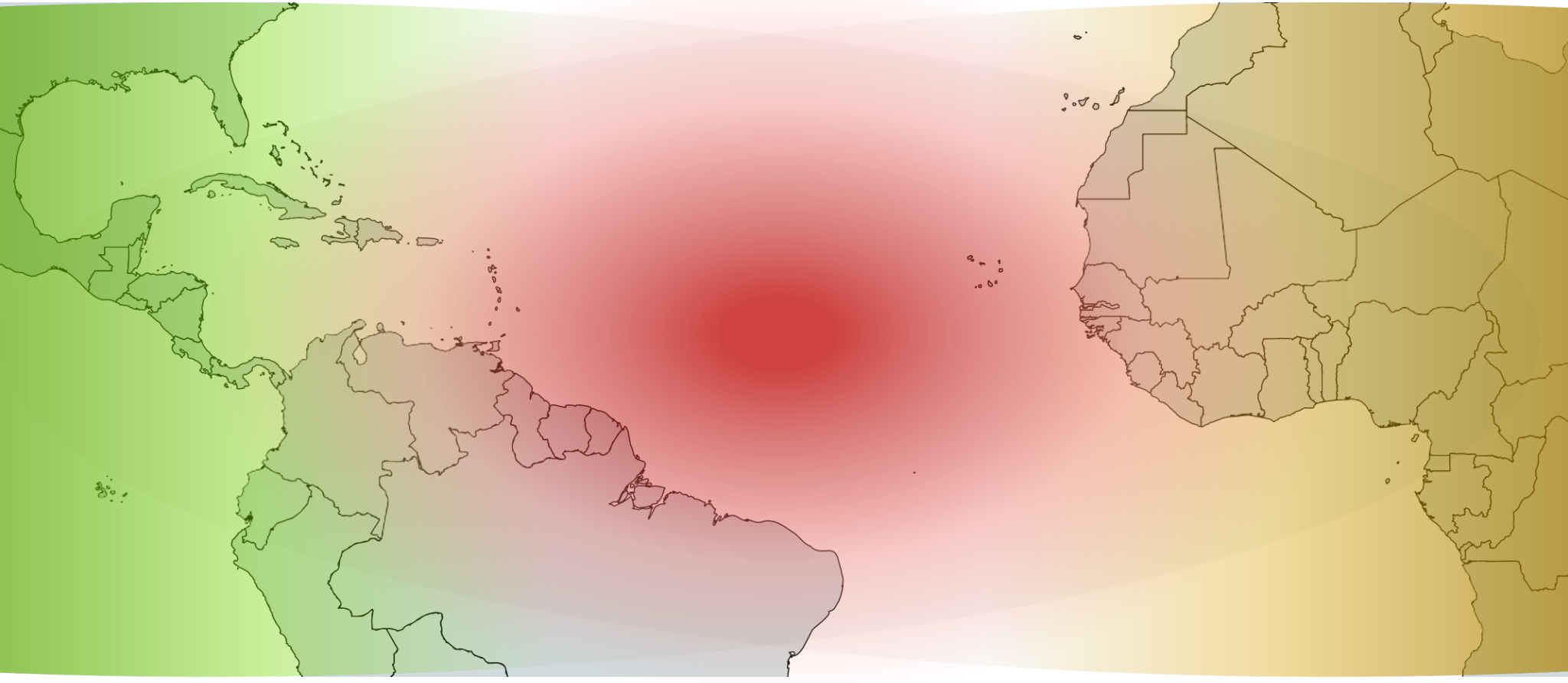
Tone systems, serial verb constructions, focus verb doubling, ‘surpass’ comparative, single PL marking in NP, no pronominal gender, REL=COMP, EMP= REFL, topic and focus prominence, negative copulas, plural word, lexical & pragmatic, Africanisms, etc.

Eurosphere



Many (path-incorporating) prepostions, stress systems, (pronominal) gender, indefinite articles, subject prominence, SVC equivalents, lexical and pragmatic Europeanisms, etc.

Eurosphere **Creolosphere** **Afrosphere**



Etymologically layered & mixed prososdic systems, “mismatches” in constituent order (strict SVO, AdjN, NDet, NLoc), general locative PREPs + path-incorporating + locative nouns, lexical and pragmatic Africanisms & Europeanisms, etc.

Conclusions

1. The AECs of West Africa and the Caribbean are evolving in 'classical' processes of genealogical and areal differentiation.
2. Macro-areal convergence leads to a broad typological alignment of AECs with the "**Afrosphere**" and the "**Eurosphere**" respectively.
3. Micro-areal convergence leads to local alignment of AECs within specific linguistic ecologies.
4. Speed and degree of areal alignment of individual varieties are determined by social factors, in particular "**social entrenchment**".
5. Overall, all AECs are genealogical and areal-typological blends in varying degrees. Nowhere is areal alignment complete. They constitute a buffer zone: the "**Creolosphere**".

Postscript: moving beyond creolist tropes

- "Creoles" → Linguistic groupings/families
- The creole prototype → Genealogical transfer
- "Simplification" → Analyticization (and that's trivial)
- Creole continuum/decreolization → Areal transfer
- Bilingualism → Multilingualism, heteroglossia
- American creoles → African creoles

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kofi@hku.hk